

## Routes to tour in Germany

# The Harz and Heath Route

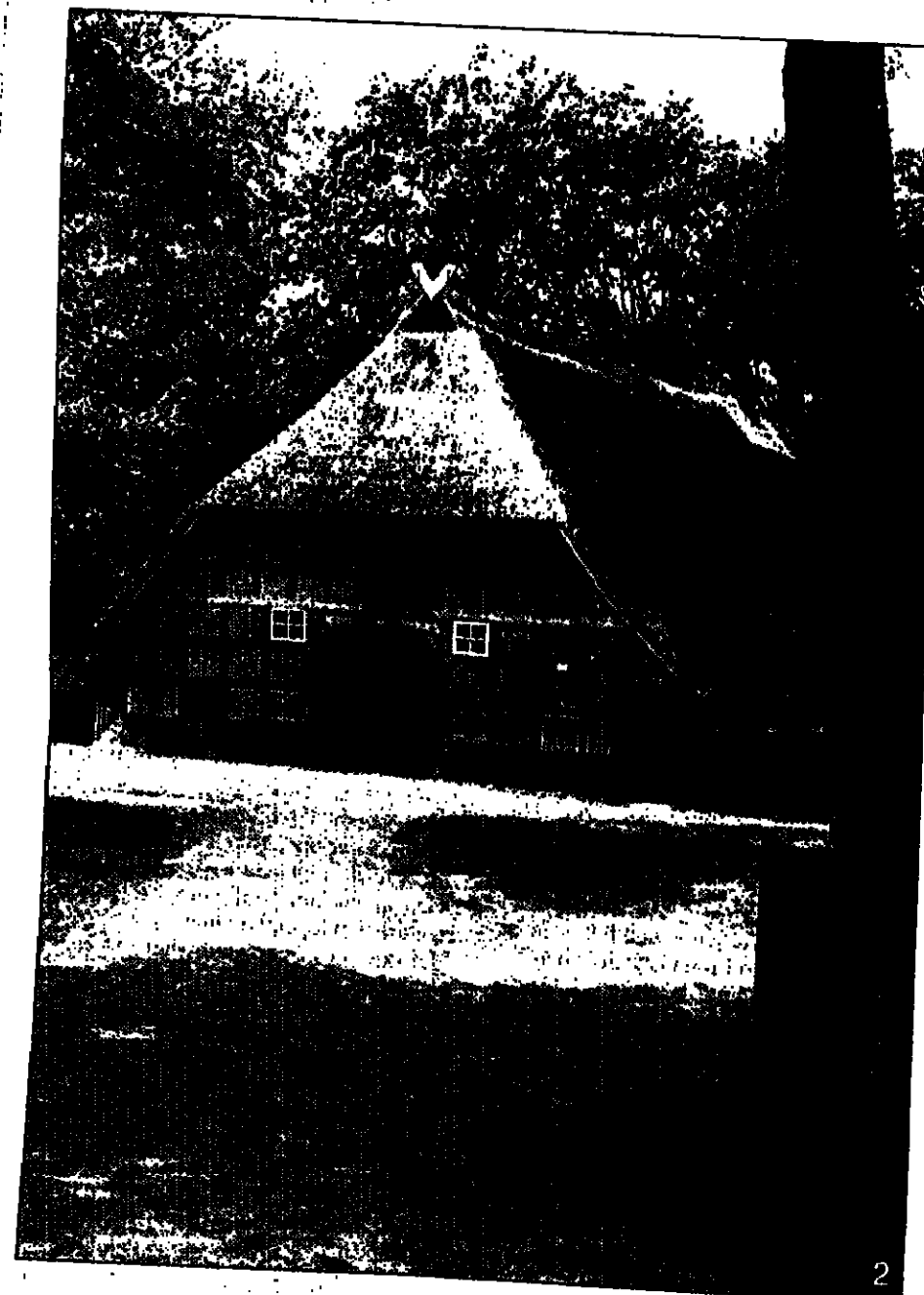


German roads will get you there — to areas at times so attractive that one route leads to the next, from the Harz mountains to the Lüneburg Heath, say. Maybe you should take a look at both.

The Harz, northernmost part of the Mittelgebirge range, is holiday country all the year round. In summer for hikers, in winter for skiers in their tens of thousands. Tour from the hill resorts of Osterode, Clausthal-Zellerfeld or Bad Harzburg or from the 1,000-

year-old town of Goslar. The Heath extends from Celle, with its town centre of half-timbered houses unscathed by the war and the oldest theatre in Germany, to Lüneburg, also 1,000 years old. It boasts wide expanses of flat countryside, purple heather and herds of local curly-horned sheep.

Visit Germany and let the Harz and Heath Route be your guide.



- 1 Brunswick
- 2 An old Lüneburg Heath farmhouse
- 3 The Harz
- 4 Göttingen

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# The German Tribune

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## Missiles begin to arrive but talks carry on

Missile deployment has already begun in Britain. It is about to begin in Germany. All that is needed is for the Bundestag to give the go-ahead, as it will.

The Americans were prepared for an earlier deadline and will be quick to deliver the goods. The first delivery, of Pershing 2s, will probably be operational before Christmas.

This is of particular importance because the Russians, in the person of Soviet ambassador Semyonov in Bonn, have indicated readiness to carry on negotiating until the de facto stationing of the new US missiles.

If Moscow had made good its original threat of abandoning the Geneva talks as soon as the West started stationing, the chief Soviet delegate, Mr Kvitsinsky, would have called it a day on 15 November.

His meeting that day with Mr Nitze and the US delegation was extremely short, but the two sides did agree to meet again two days later.

That alone doesn't mean much. The superpowers aren't negotiating in Geneva to present to achieve results but merely to find a pretext for blaming each other.

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For the countries where missiles are to be stationed, initially Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany and Italy, it is important to be able to note that stationing is not an irrevocable fact as long as the two sides are still talking.

Thatcher, Herr Kohl and Signor Ciriaco De Mita all say that missiles installed can be withdrawn if satisfactory terms are negotiated at the Geneva missile talks. Such assurances are partly intended to allay domestic consumption, but they are aimed at providing the Soviet Union with an incentive to carry on talks in Geneva.

Comments by Soviet politicians and diplomats are to some extent contradictory but they do indicate that bids of kind are not meaningless.

Views evidently differ in Moscow, not only on the aim but also the procedure at Geneva, and especially on whether stationing should mark the be-

ginning of another ice age in East-West relations.

The signs are, as was clear during Bonn Economic Affairs Minister Lambsdorff's visit to Moscow, that the old guard of Soviet politicians are not in favour of an ice age, mainly for economic reasons.

Yet the Soviet military are not prepared to make substantial concessions in Geneva, while the man who could end the uncertainty and indecision, Mr Andropov, is so ill that there is speculation over who is to succeed him.

As long as this continues there is unlikely to be any great movement on the Soviet Union's part.

That was partly why Moscow promptly rejected the latest proposal by President Reagan, which came too late to influence more than the Bundestag debate. It provided Chancellor Kohl with an opportunity of defending the Americans for showing flexibility and of emphasising his own role in bringing about a reasonable compromise proposal.

For the same reason the Opposition (SPD) were bound to reject the latest US offer. It might otherwise have upset the rejection of missile modernisation on which the Social Democrats had agreed before their special party conference.

The Soviet Union could hardly be expected to make any last-minute changes to this battle order by agreeing to any American offer other than one of unconditional surrender.

Soviet tactics in Geneva show Russia to have stalled at the talks to drive the Nato countries into fraternal strife.

Moscow has hopes of reaping a rich harvest. Continued on page 2



### Deployment to go ahead

Chancellor Helmut Kohl begins the missile debate in the Bundestag, with a policy speech. The Bundestag voted to go ahead with deployment in Germany. (Photo: Sven Simon)

## Chilly spell but no ice age predicted between East, West

Stationing of 572 new medium-range US missiles in Europe will go ahead at the end of this month as resolved by Nato — that is, if last-minute agreement is not reached at Geneva.

Bonn does not expect any such miracle to happen. It feels there are clear signs that Moscow has long come to terms with Western missile deployment and included it as a firm feature in plans for the future.

Planning staff in the West are already thinking beyond the start of deployment

and in terms of the stationing plan drawn up by Nato secretary-general Joseph Luns, which extends over a period of several years.

They are also preparing for the eventuality of reducing the level of missile deployment in keeping with how far Moscow is prepared to cut back its prior arms build-up.

Chancellor Kohl said during his visit to Japan that the beginning of missile deployment would not lead to an ice age in East-West relations.

Government officials in Bonn add that night frost must of course be expected. It was hard to imagine the Geneva talks simply continuing once Nato had acted on the two sides' failure to reach agreement.

The Kremlin has invested too much prestige in the issue for this to happen, it is argued.

Planners in Washington and Bonn expect the Soviet Union to react with harsh gestures to the beginning of missile modernisation. Talks between the superpowers might well be interrupted.

But in its own interest Moscow would probably return to the conference table after a chilly spell.

That would mark the beginning of a new stage of talks about more than mere missile modernisation in Europe. It would be a matter of balanced reduction of medium-range missiles in both Europe and, in all probability, the Far East.

A gloomier view would have it that the Soviet leaders are waiting to see who makes the running in the US presidential elections next autumn.

While hoping the situation might then be more favourable from the Soviet

Continued on page 3



### Gulf between yes and no

The SPD has voted by 383 to 14 with 3 abstentions to oppose missile deployment. At a special national party congress in Cologne, former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt (above left) led the unsuccessful bid to continue the pro-missile policy. Another former Chancellor, Willy Brandt (at right) was at the spearhead of the anti-missile faction. (See page 3). (Photo: Barbara Klemm)

## ■ WORLD AFFAIRS

## Nature of Lebanon at the heart of the problem

What is this Lebanon? An American military base... a Soviet bastion... an Arab state... an independent country?" asked Druze leader Walid Jumblatt at the Lebanese reconciliation conference in Geneva.

Lebanon is also Israeli and Syrian occupied territory and a battlefield for the Palestinians who are fighting a civil war in Lebanon but have no country of their own.

Even the Lebanese politicians felt so unsafe on top of the powderkeg in their own country that they decided to hold their reconciliation conference in Switzerland.

Despite their accumulated grievances, delegates quickly reached agreement on a statement defining Lebanon's national

identity. It described Lebanon as a free, sovereign and independent state.

The Christians, the dominant pro-Western front, were taken down a peg or two when the statement also satisfied Muslim demands by defining the country also as an active member of the Arab League.

But the formula is barely worth the paper it is written on.

Lebanon's unity began to crumble in 1970 at the latest when the Palestinian troops that had been chased out of Jordan settled in Lebanon's south and gradually established a state within the state.

Christian politicians often mention the Palestinian invasion as proof of their assertion that the militant disputes in their country are not a civil war but have been imported.

The political power ratio negotiated in 1943, which divided political posts and parliamentary mandates between the country's 17 religious groups, worked smoothly until the Palestinians came, the Christians say.

Why did the presence of the Palestinians suddenly encourage the Muslim population to exert heavier domestic pressure on the Christians?

And was there not a Christian-Muslim dispute in 1958 (under the influence of Egypt's Nasserism) that went so far that the Americans had to intervene?

The domestic situation in Lebanon was no longer rosy when the Palestinians arrived in 1970.

The Muslims had long held that they were in the majority over the Christians and pressed for a change of the power ratio in their favour.

It is relatively easy to sketch which occupation force is stationed where, where the American, French, Italian and British peace force is located and where the front between the feuding Palestinians lies.

But it is less easy to untangle the rivaling Lebanese groupings: the Christians, Sunnites, Shiites, Druzes, family clans and other religious and ethnic groups, all with their own militias.

The general confusion was reflected in the Geneva conference.

Dieter Schröder  
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 17 November 1983)

The shock waves caused by the unilateral declaration of independence by the Turkish populated northern sector of Cyprus have been felt most acutely in Athens.

The proclamation of an independent state of northern Cyprus could easily split NATO's southern flank at a time when the Western defence alliance is only superficially united on the issue of new American medium range missiles in Europe.

The declaration of independence also coincides with American, French and Italian naval vessels being stationed off the Lebanese coast in the immediate vicinity of Cyprus.

Will it do any good to put the matter before the UN Security Council?

There is no force that could make the 25,000 Turkish troops now stationed in Cyprus return home. And the UN peace-keeping force that was sent to Cyprus earlier did not exactly convey the image of determination.

Diplomatic circles anxiously ask themselves what prompted the Turkish

## Cyprus UDI a threat to Nato flank

Cypriot leader, Rauf Denktaş, to choose this particular moment for a policy of accomplished facts.

Did he seize the opportunity of a brief post-election vacuum in Turkey while the military is still weakened and the civilian government not yet fully capable of acting?

This seems to be substantiated by the unconfirmed news that Ankara unsuccessfully tried to stop Denktaş.

The Cyprus situation is unique in international law. The country has been independent since 1960. Since the abortive putsch by the Greek colonels against the president of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios, the country — though split in two — was nominally still one state under President Spyros Kyprianou.

Wolfgang Saile  
(Rheinische Post, 16 November 1983)

The group of the National Salvation Front that opposes the Beirut government consisted not only of Muslims. There was also a prominent Christian among them who is engaged in a personal family feud with the clan of Christian President Amin Gemayel.

Maybe the West really stood by idly for too long as developments in Lebanon took their course.

This, in any event, is what the Israelis maintained until they finally felt that they had to intervene to restore order.

Christian Lebanese politicians also waited in vain for Western assistance during the severe civil war of 1975/76.

But would such assistance, with the possibility of a military intervention as in 1958, not have involved the Arabs and possibly the Soviets as well, causing more than just Lebanese complications?

Washington believed that it could disregard the Syrians. The agreement that came about therefore involved only Beirut and Jerusalem in the ill-advised hope that the Syrians would follow suit of their own accord.

But it is evident that Syria's President Hafez Assad has not dropped his plans for a Greater Syria that would include Lebanon.

Assad's support for the Palestinians rebelling against Yasser Arafat is also no more than a bid for another power factor: a PLO that would give priority to militant action against Israel over diplomacy.

The Syrian president can count on being backed by Moscow, which wants to match Washington in terms of Middle East presence.

But by the same token, the Soviets make a point of not going too far for fear of a direct confrontation with the Americans.

As long as they maintain this stance there still remains a back door to an East-West accommodation on Lebanon.

But the tug-of-war between the superpowers over missiles makes it difficult to envisage such a compromise.

There is even less hope that all occupation forces now in Lebanon will leave from one day to the next and that the Lebanese will be able to realise the unity they put on paper in Geneva.

The more likely outcome is a country divided into three parts: a Syrian-dominated, an Israeli-governed and a torso Lebanon centering around Beirut.

Reiner Dederichs  
(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 15 November 1983)

Now the northern part is to become a member of the non-aligned movement while the south remains in NATO's sphere of influence.

In view of the deep-rooted hatred between the two ethnic and religious groups, only incorrigible optimists can regard the political structure created by Denktaş as viable.

The newly proclaimed state creates more instability and tension, especially after its recognition by Turkey.

The Cyprus affair is only one more link in a long chain of examples showing how local political disputes can become more explosive than the arsenals of the superpowers.

The developments in Cyprus are a blow to NATO. The defence alliance headed by America has demonstrated its inability to find a sweeping solution to this local dispute, or at least to defuse it.

Europe's outpost in the Eastern Mediterranean, the stepping stone to the Middle East, has become shaky.

Wolfgang Saile  
(Rheinische Post, 16 November 1983)

## Free enterprise advocate wins in Turkey

Turkey's election, the first three-year military rule, ended the convincing victory of an

Ozal's Motherland Party won only three parties the general election to contest the election. It was the party they least favoured.

The Motherland party will have absolute majority in Parliament's 550 seats. The military, Admiral Sunalp, won only 23 per cent of the popular vote.

The generals thought that they would lead the country to a new democracy that they would control. They planned the election to the smallest detail, very much like a military campaign.

But the voters, in an election, evidently above board and free of the well-laid plans, demonstrated the often doubted maturity of this nation of 40 million.

It would not be wrong to describe the election as a protest vote.

The other surprise was the performance of the left-of-center party, the former Under Secretary Necmettin Erbakan, which took second place with 19 per cent of the vote.

Erbakan managed to rally the left of the ex-Prime Minister Ecevit after he had been barred from the new Social Democratic Party.

There were rumours that the party would not accept the results of the election and would reverse the move towards democracy.

But this would have been out of character for the military regime, which is committed to the West as a NATO member, the European Council and the EEC.

None of which is an annoyance.

There is also a misunderstanding about the nature and intentions of the military, elected as president for seven years.

His popularity has been tarnished by the outcome of the election but it has not been seriously damaged. His aims were to preserve national unity and eliminate terrorism. Both have been achieved.

Attention is now focussed on the 56, who proved himself during the campaign as a thoroughbred politician and a man of untiring stamina.

Of the three party leaders the military ultimately allowed to compete in the election, the people regarded him at least likely to be a puppet of the generals.

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## No ice age

Continued from page 1

At the moment, Moscow would continue to go ahead with its own arms build-up. The main reason why Bonn is not exerting an ice age is that the Soviet Union continues to rely on economic

from the West. The Social Democrats have voted overwhelmingly to oppose missile deployment. Only 14 of the 400 delegates, including former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, voted against the anti-missile motion at a special party congress in Cologne. There were three abstentions.

The vote was not unexpected. It was that the SPD has abandoned the policy which it adopted when Schmidt was Chancellor.

The congress did not even bother to discuss the matter seriously before reaching a decision. The die was cast when Bonn coalition of Social and Free

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## ■ HOME AFFAIRS

## SPD anti-missile vote is a reversion to type

Democrats broke up in September 1982.

The SPD no longer really supported Chancellor Schmidt on missiles at its Berlin, Munich and Dortmund conferences held while the party was in power. Only the desire to hold on to power drove the party from one compromise to the next.

The SPD's heart has always beaten to the left of Helmut Schmidt's. In security policy it was never a convinced and convincing supporter of the Atlantic approach.

The Social Democrats veered toward neutrality in the 1950s, were never keen on NATO and have always held mixed views on the United States.

These are politico-psychological constants as far as the SPD is concerned. They were merely papered over by Social Democratic participation, first as a junior, then as senior partner in the Bonn government.

In spite of protestations to the contrary, the November 1983 Cologne SPD conference merely marks a reversion to old Social Democratic views.

The SPD-FDP coalition that held power in Bonn for 13 years broke up in autumn 1982 as a result of economic, financial and welfare policy disputes.

Even if it hadn't, Helmut Schmidt would have been forced out of office by now at the latest by the inner compulsion that has forced the SPD to part company with the security policy it used to endorse.

Coalition considerations forced the SPD to make increasingly seriously compromises while in power. In Cologne the party was visibly relieved at no longer having to compromise.

For the first time in years the Social Democrats enjoyed a sense of inner unity that was to be reaffirmed in the Bundestag missile debate.

This sense of unity and cohesion, sadly missed for so long, weakened the determination and, arguably, the ability of the SPD to be logical in its security policy.

Karlsruhe's FDP conference was low-key compared to previous conferences. Contrasting views were discussed quietly and with discipline and restraint.

Debates used to be held passionately, openly and from widely differing viewpoints. But both supporters and opponents of the FDP's changing of sides in Bonn last year keenly recall the damage done then.

The Free Democrats' decision to switch from the Social to the Christian Democrats as Bonn coalition partners threatened to tear apart this small party.

So the substantial majority support given to FDP leader and Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher's paper on security policy need not necessarily be a true reflection of FDP opinion.

The same goes for the conference resolution that any further delay in stationing Pershing 2 missiles in Europe would be irresponsible.

But the remaining Liberals felt it was more important to demonstrate party unity regardless of differences of viewpoint than to argue it out and create an impression of being torn apart by dissension yet again.

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## DEFENCE

## Europe on the brink? Signs are neither side is in a position to go to war

The Atlantic alliance is in a serious crisis, and the "peace movement" is not to blame.

However some Germans, especially Bavarians, do blame it.

The peace movement is a many-coloured grouping partly motivated by romanticism and characterised by more than a fair share of German arrogance.

But it has merely brought to light what has been smouldering for years, even at the fountainheads of military planning.

Doubts follow each other in swift succession, underpinned by the views of experts who were among the architects of Nato doctrines 10 or 20 years ago, especially in America.

These doctrines, no matter how logically they may continue to be formulated by the experts in question, have forfeited much of their former credibility.

They are growing progressively less credible. Loss of acceptance is the term used by the experts for this process.

So it is hardly surprising that Nato itself has, unwittingly as it would seem, been called into question, although in Germany this may have something to do with a romantic and vaguely nationalist revival (and a most unwelcome development).

But the credibility gap of Nato doctrine has more to do with the development and spread of nuclear weapons and delivery systems, which have forfeited predictability.

Nuclear weapons, or certainly the use of them, are unquestionably against international law, absolutely immoral and ethically beyond the pale.

In Europe, where even the use of "small-scale" nuclear grenades could not be limited and would be sure within days to lead to mass death, if not the destruction of half the world, nuclear warfare has become an obsolete concept.

US Defence Secretary Weinberger made comments to the contrary soon after taking over at the Pentagon but what he had to say has since been corrected by no less a person than President Reagan.

A nuclear war, the President told the United Nations, could not be won and ought never to be waged.

So what remains of Nato's flexible response doctrine? It was drawn up, it will be recalled, to replace the massive retaliation doctrine, which has likewise lost credibility.

Flexible response envisages the use of nuclear weapons as soon as there is no other defence option in the course of an enemy attack.

As long as the West retained superiority in "small-scale" nuclear weapons suitable for use in the battlefield and its hinterland, this threat could at a pinch be taken as credible.

But the other side now has weapons that are just as dangerous, if not more so. So a nuclear option is now ruled out in Europe. It could not be limited, so it would make no sense.

Does that mean the West, and especially the Federal Republic of Germany, is now more liable to be attacked by the Soviet Union?

Must we, in common with so many fear-ridden people, transfer our funds to Canada, Florida or Australia?

Common-sense consideration makes

## Süddeutsche Zeitung

nonsense of any such idea. But it also makes it essential to give consideration to the unthinkable, namely war.

Nato will not be launching an attack on Eastern Europe. Any such idea is ruled out by the North Atlantic Treaty, as has constantly been reaffirmed, and would fail to command a political consensus.

If this argument fails to ring true, and some people work themselves up into a frenzy of fear and resentment, and you feel you cannot be entirely sure of what other members of Nato might do, then to at least consider the facts.

Nato armies are not in a position, either numerically or logistically, to launch a large-scale attack.

What, then, about the other side? Is a Soviet attack on Europe with a view to defeating it militarily and occupying and controlling it conceivable?

Communist ideology cannot, of course, abandon its objective of expansion, by force of arms if need be. That can be read in any book on the subject.

To this extent Afghanistan was not a fall from grace. It was strictly in keeping with Communist doctrine. But would Moscow take the same risk in Europe?

If it were to do so that would be the beginning of the Soviet dinosaur's end even if no major nuclear weapons were to be used.

The wave of public protest against Nato missile modernisation in Europe may well continue up to deployment.

The Soviet Union would like to maintain its present medium-range missile monopoly if the West will allow it to do so. If possible it would prefer to improve on it.

According to estimates by French government experts the Soviet SS-20 missiles and their nuclear warheads threaten 62 per cent of the world's population.

They are capable of reaching targets in 56 countries with a combined population of 2.7 billion.

The Bonn government's defence white paper says (and the claim has not been disproved) that the production and stationing of SS-20s, with three warheads each, continues unabated.

A total of 243 are already stationed in European Russia, which means that in one swoop the East could launch a missile attack on 700 targets in Western Europe.

It is clearly noted in the white paper that the Pershing 2s intended as a Western counterweight are not capable of reaching Moscow.

The planned reinforcement of Nato's nuclear potential is in strict accordance with the principle of flexible response and deterrence.

Peace via deterrence is thus the aim, and even though the West's response potential may be fragile, it has succeeded in preserving peace in the past and will continue to do so.

For the Soviet Union another principle applies. Moscow aims to intimidate the West, to bring political pressure to

It is a system that even after 65 years has failed to feed its population by itself and failed to achieve a modicum of prosperity.

It lags well behind the West in science, technology, electronics. It cannot rely on the loyalty of its captive nations.

It could not possibly withstand a blockade for long or keep the armies and peoples of America and Europe at arm's length for an unlimited period, let alone keep them under its thumb.

Even if the Kremlin were controlled again by such a monstrous and brutal ruler as Stalin an adventure of this kind would be most unlikely.

That has not always been so, of course. Nato was set up in response to Soviet expansionism.

In the early post-war period all Eastern Europe was subjected to the Soviet system. South Korea was to have been occupied. West Berlin was first blockaded, then threatened by one ultimatum after another.

Every attempt at change inside the Soviet empire was foiled by resort to despotism, including bloodshed if need be.

But is this still the case? Will Nato doctrine continue to be warranted? Containment is now, after all, an established fact.

If a Soviet leader today were to threaten to launch a nuclear attack on Britain, as Khrushchev did in 1956, he would be most unlikely to be taken seriously.

Even a limited war in which the So-

## Spread of fear remains Moscow's aim

The writer of this article, Dr Gerhard Schröder, 73, was Foreign Minister from 1961 to 1966 under Chancellors Adenauer and Erhard. He had previously served as Interior Minister and went on, until 1969, to become Defence Minister under Chancellor Kiesinger.

bear, to tear Nato apart and expel the United States from Europe.

Realistic as they are, the Soviet leaders aim not at war but at political domination by means of spreading fear, primarily in Europe of course.

In Europe, especially the Nato countries, doing enough to clarify this state of affairs and to frame readily understandable arguments that get the idea across to the general public?

It must first be made clear without the slightest doubt that Nato is an alliance that has subscribed to the objective of disarmament.

We are confronted by an ideology that regards the clash between differing political systems as historically inevitable.

That isn't a recent discovery. It is a reality with which we have been living for many years.

We are members of Nato and not in a position where we might have to appeal

viet Union merely occupied many, Holland and Denmark, then Norway and the Bosphorus from the outset jeopardised survival.

Helmut Schmidt has just noted if tension were to mount the Republic could mobilise 1.2 million in a matter of days.

Robert S. McNamara, the former Defence Secretary, has noted that the German forces in Europe could be increased from 300,000 to a million in a short period too.

That alone is surely a substantial deterrent. But maybe it doesn't need to be. Maybe a few nuclear warheads, of radio and TV, records, films, and video recorders? Would it be powerful as, say, Pope John Paul II?

With a certain amount of effort, ever, more and better results could be achieved in respect of communications.

That in turn would make the defence and military service more visible again. It would bring about a degree of consensus.

If the deterrent were to prove effective in such circumstances millions of people would not necessarily die as a result.

The result would merely be that all the attendant misery but the possibility of ending it before war is sealed.

Nato used at times to communicate views of doctrines, contradictory alliance perspectives by acknowledged experts who were asked to submit form proposals.

It is high time a fresh review was conducted, and the Bonn government must endorse the idea.

There is no shortage of competent experts on both sides of the Atlantic.

In Germany Helmut Schmidt's immediately comes to mind.

Hans Hoyer

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 5 November 1983)

## PERSPECTIVE

## First the printing press then TV: Luther's star waxes into the electronic age

Printing was what enabled Luther in his early public years to become the German to make his mark on all Germany, claimed Roman Catholic theologian Joseph Lortz.

That alone is surely a substantial deterrent. But maybe it doesn't need to be. Maybe a few nuclear warheads, of radio and TV, records, films, and video recorders? Would it be powerful as, say, Pope John Paul II?

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Applied electronics looks like being a harbinger of revolutionary change. The alarming prospects it holds forth for the moment exceeded only by the moral impossibilities of an arms build-up that is shamelessly using electronics as its servant.

Just as Martin Luther has outdone all other great Germans in this, his anniversary year, so he should prove capable of doing so in 1984, the Orwell year.

Much of what Orwell foresaw in 1948 already came true. Just as Luther in his day was torn between fear of God and man's inadequacy, between confidence and despair to the point of a split (Erikson), and prayed for a merciful God, so may we perhaps have to fight with a merciful mankind as the Orwellian personality of doublethink grows increasingly normal.

Luther's confidence in the love of God is a sentiment we find increasingly difficult to share the more badly we are treated.

So confidence in place of despair is probably the most important lesson we can learn from the Reformer.

There is no uniform view of Luther. Those who celebrate his anniversary can be classified by viewpoint, in groups if not as individuals.

There is the Protestant viewpoint, the Catholic viewpoint and the Marxist viewpoint.

The latter-day Protestant view of Luther has a decidedly meagre look. Protestants have had to shed much of the Reformer used to enjoy as a hero and a rebel.

The Marxist view of Luther is a fairly considered one. Communism is in reality interested in the early capitalist

Fugger and in the peasants' leader Thomas Müntzer.

In the GDR Luther does not count as more than a peripheral national figure about whom a certain amount of hue and cry is tolerated.

This is doubtless partly on account of the hard currency earned from visitors to the places where Luther lived and worked.

It will also be so as to feed a little opium to the largely Lutheran population of the GDR, but only a small dose that is unlikely to have after-effects of any kind.

The Catholic view of Luther has, in contrast, undergone an astonishing change. For Roman Catholics the Reformer has been upgraded from an accused heretic to a father in belief.

Luther is discovered to have had Catholic roots. Carefully laying them bare has been a main aim of Catholic ecclesiastical research in recent decades.

The new Catholic view of Luther is a far cry from the revolutionary condemned to eternal damnation he was made out to be by his confused contemporaries.

Johannes Cochlaeus, Johann Eck, Hieronymus Emser and Thomas Murner.

They saw him as having been sired by Satan, accompanied throughout life by Beelzebub and eventually borne off by the Devil. It is hard to say nowadays who started the name-calling all those centuries ago, a torrent of abuse that grew increasingly trite as it was laid on thicker and thicker. Eventually it ground to a halt.

But who threw the first stone? Luther or his opponents? All that can be said with any certainty is that the unspoiled vocabulary of modern German in the making, combined with the full chalice of feeling on both sides, bequeathed us the most blunt and plain-spoken language that has ever become literature in Germany.

Luther himself was a past master of coarseness.

In his speech at the Luther anniversary ceremony in Worms Cardinal Hoffner of Cologne said that the views of the Reformer held by Protestants and Catholics could no longer be used to drive a wedge between them.

The same could be said of Luther's theological views, which had been controversial for centuries, especially his belief that man was both just and a sinner at the same time and could only attain salvation by the grace of God and not by his own good works.

Cardinal Hoffner, who chairs the Conference of German Catholic Bishops, insisted nonetheless that Luther

had looked on idly as the Church was split up, for which the Catholic church was admittedly partly to blame.

This is an accusation that will not hold water in this form. Rome showed no appreciation of the impending split and certainly steered a wide berth of self-critical action of any kind.

If the Pope had only held a council in the 1520s the Reformation would not have happened as it did; there would have been a reform of the Church instead.

This was the period in which Luther was at his intellectual peak and penned his major writings, of which publication of the 59 theses against indulgences in 1517 was but the precursor.

They outlined basic truths of Christianity and pilloried evils, distortions and errors in religious life, including the abuse of indulgences. The theses were welcomed by many contemporaries, including Luther's later opponents Eck,

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## ■ BUSINESS

## Big construction plant maker is out of cash

The world's third largest maker of construction machinery, IBH, has gone to court to seek protection from creditors through composition, a type of insolvency proceedings.

Horst-Dieter Esch, head of IBH Holding AG, did not think that he could overtake the biggest construction machinery maker in the world, Caterpillar. But he wanted to become number two.

But the ambitions of the most fascinating German businessman of the 1970s, were dashed when his principle lender, SMH-Bank, itself had to be bailed out by a consortium of banks.

That left Esch with no option but to apply to court for protection from creditors through composition. The chances are that IBH, which has annual sales of DM2.5bn and a payroll of 10,000, will not recover.

Insiders such as banks and competitor companies have anticipated trouble for years and they are likely to be proved right.

It is still not clear whether SMH-Bank's collapse caused IBH to totter or whether it was the other way round. But the fact is that the relatively young equipment maker did not have the financial strength to come through a crisis.

It is also true that Esch never managed to win the confidence of the major banks. He was therefore forced into a riskier reliance on SMH, a bank founded in 1968 through the merger of three private banks (See story on page 7).

Esch's personality is an essential clue to the problem. His business philosophy was basically sound, and remains so even in retrospect.

He realised from the beginning that a major construction machinery manufacturer could weather national economic ups and downs only by maintaining production facilities in all major industrial countries.

But even people whom he talked into backing him often regarded him as a gambler and loudmouth who, at an age (he is now 40) when others were still junior executives, believed that he could outperform experienced managers. That couldn't (perhaps shouldn't) work.

Esch's rise began in the USA where he studied business administration in Utah and Los Angeles.

He worked his way through university as a ticket checker in a drive-in movie.

On his flight back to Germany in 1967, the newly graduated Master of Business Administration happened to be sitting next to the chief executive of Duomat, a German construction machinery company.

The two had a long chat, and before the plane landed in Frankfurt, Esch had landed a job as a sales assistant.

He was quickly promoted to head the US branch office which Duomat maintained together with the British construction machinery dealer John Blackwood-Hodge.

Impressed by his sales successes, the British company a few months later made Esch their European head of sales. Esch, bristling with imagination and



Horst-Dieter Esch... foiled ambition, (Photo: Archiv)

ever ready to take a risk — he played for high stakes at backgammon — used his new employer to amass personal capital.

He speculated in Blackwood-Hodge shares and, staking everything on a hunch, made a rapid DM1m in 1972. That was the starting capital for his IBH.

His aim from the very beginning was to use his business concept to make IBH one of the world's largest construction machinery concerns with annual sales of DM4bn to DM5bn. What he wanted was Internationale Baumaschinen-Holding, an international construction machinery holding company.

His plans met with widespread scepticism, especially in view of the construction industry crisis caused by the sharp oil-price increase of the early 1970s.

Even the Registrar of Companies refused to register the new company under the ambitious name and cut it down to three letters: IBH.

Esch's opportunity came when most of Germany's medium-sized construction machinery makers found themselves in the red because of the crisis.

The management quality in many family businesses was next to zero. But 20 years of boom had papered this over, and it was not until the crisis struck that the shortcomings became obvious. Esch started collecting companies like apples.

Many owners were glad to get rid of their businesses and sold for next to nothing.

Esch grabbed every company whose range of products seemed promising, it didn't matter if it was losing money or had obsolete production facilities.

Eyebrows were raised as without much money of his own and without dependable backing, the son of a locksmith bought one ailing company after another.

By the end of 1978 he had four German firms under the IBH roof, including Duomat, his first employer.

The buying spree continued until the end of 1982. In France, he took over Deruppe; Maco Meudon and Pingon. In Britain it was Hymac and Winget. In Blaw Knox and in Germany Hanomag and Wibau.

General Motors, then in financial trouble, sold him its construction machinery subsidiary, Terex, with production facilities in the USA, Brazil and Scotland.

It was of little use to Esch that he could eventually point to an illustrious circle of IBH shareholders.

The financially strongest were General Motors and the Saudi Arabian Dallah Est Co. (each with a 19.6 per cent stake in IBH), the British firms Powell

Continued on page 8

## Family influence fades on machinery manufacturer

Klaus Götte has replaced Manfred Lennings as chief of the Oberhausen plant and machinery firm Gutehoffnungshütte Aktienverein (GHH).

Götte, 51, a former Flick partner, was nominally only a simply supervisory board member of the GHH subsidiary, MAN.

But since the beginning of the year he had belonged to the inner leadership circle of GHH, Europe's leading heavy machinery company (annual sales close to DM19bn) with special duties as an ideologist.

The changing of the guard had been well prepared behind the scenes. Götte was voted into his new post without fuss and bother.

He is the first man at the top of GHH who is not the nominee of the founder family, Haniel.

The withdrawal of the founder family was evidenced by yet another personnel decision: to prevent a neck-and-neck vote in which the chairman of the supervisory board would have had to bring his casting vote to bear on the resignation of Lennings (once nominated by him) family spokesman Klaus Haniel resigned from the board at the beginning of the meeting.

He was replaced by the former BASF chief executive Matthias Seefelder. For the first time in 110 years, the chairman of the supervisory board is not a member of the Haniel clan.

This dual change at the top of GHH reflects the changing stockholder structure.

The once dominant founder family has in the past decades become increasingly insignificant, both financially and managerially.

The Haniel's stake has dwindled to 12 per cent. The dominant influence now rests with the Regina Group's 26 per cent. The Group's holdings were provided



Manfred Lennings... odd issue to resign over. (Photo: J. H. Darchinger)

by the Allianz Insurance Co. (75 per cent) and Commerzbank (25 per cent).

The changeover from Lennings to Götte was thus not masterminded by GHH's supervisory board but by the owners of the Regina Group.

Georg Benz, formerly executive board member of the metalworkers union, IG Metall, and labour representative on the GHH supervisory board: "Our co-determination rights have been grossly violated. We're mere extras here."

Benz described Lennings as a "man of outstanding ability." This makes it the



Klaus Götte... a meteoric rise.

more surprising that somebody whose company had praised only him while ago should now have been replaced.

This was not a case of a man who had manoeuvred his way into a hopeless crisis.

Lennings — who kept his subjects on a long leash in keeping with the corporate tradition — was too fully recognising MAN's problems, especially in the sectors of construction vehicles and marine diesel engines.

This led to operating losses last year of close to DM300m, naturally caused some unrest among shareholders.

But nobody had any doubts about Lennings' ability to overcome the problems within the next few years. They were purely structural and partly by the recession.

Even Götte sees no difference between his own rescue plans and Lennings'.

Lennings' surprise resignation was a thing to do with objective business reasons.

The 18-line communiqué on the supervisory board session vaguely spoke of "differences of views on personnel and organisational matters."

But closer scrutiny reveals this to be a secondary procedural dispute — especially compared with the loss of thousands of jobs due to the crash in the cure for MAN.

Citing Section 105 of the German law on public companies, Lennings had to have himself elected for only one year to the management board of the subsidiary MAN. He felt that by taking over the management reins he could bring the listing ship back on an even keel.

His fellow board member Siegfried Schiffbauer was also earmarked for a temporary place on the MAN management board on top of his duties at GHH head office.

This meant that MAN's chief financial officer, Gerd Wolburg, who was blamed for a number of the company's flops, would have to vacate his seat on the board.

This plan was opposed not only by the Commerzbank's supervisory board chairman, Paul Lichtenberg, but also by half of Allianz, was trying to

Continued on page 7

## FINANCE

## Bank crash averted as consortium steps in with DM600m rescue package

rescue operation has been mounted to save a German bank from going to the wall. A deal amounting to about DM600m has plugged the hole at SMH. It was a tense time for German banks. A new scandal would have shaken confidence of investors.

It was not the sheer size of the sums involved that caused the tension. More important was that one of the bank's senior partners, Alwin Münchmeyer, was many years president of the national conference of German banks and the leading conference of German chambers of commerce and industry.

He had long retired from involvement in the bank's day-to-day business, which was under the control of his son, Hermann.

SMH-Bank (from a contraction of Süddeutsche, Münchmeyer, Hengst & Co) was formed on 1 January 1968 through a merger of three long-established private banks.

The crisis arose when borrowers of DM900m lent by SMH found themselves in trouble and repayments were two into doubt.

The DM900m accounted for close to a third of the assets of SMH (just under DM2.2bn at the end of 1982) and its Hamburg subsidiary (with assets of DM1.1bn).

The German banking supervision au-

## SONNTAGS BLATT

thority in Berlin has accepted only DM300m of the collateral as sound.

One of the main problems was that a major portion of the loans money was accounted for by the Mainz-based IBH construction machinery group of Horst-Dieter Esch (See story page 6).

While German banking laws impose strict lending limits — maximum 75 per cent of a bank's capital — Luxembourg knows no such restrictions.

Faced with over-extension, the four personally liable SMH owners had no choice but to tell Bundesbank President Karl Otto Pöhl.

Pöhl and the president of the Berlin Banking Supervision Authority, Inge Lore Bähre, instantly launched a dramatic rescue operation.

Though the solution they arrived did have problems, it benefited the whole banking community.

A special deposit insurance fund operated by the banks jumped into the breach with DM150m. A consortium of 20 banks converted DM450m of SMH's lines of credit into capital with second place liability.

The total package amounted to a bit

## Three of 590,000 WELT readers.



Hans Thoms, President of the Association of German Banks and the International Savings Banks Institute, Geneva.



Dr. H. Helmut Fiege, President of the Association of German Banks and the International Savings Banks Institute, Geneva.



Franz Hietmann, Chairman of the Supervisory Board of the Deutsche Bank A.G.

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DIE WELT has a clearly defined political standpoint and this is reflected in its leading articles. It offers its readers an abundance of interesting information which, as a politician, find essential morning reading — irrespective of whether I agree with everything the paper says or not. Freedom of opinion is the hallmark of a free press and the free press is one of the essential pillars of our freedom.

DIE WELT is one of my important daily sources of information. Its wide-ranging reporting on economic events and expert comments on the inter-relationship of economic affairs is a valuable help to me for my work.

I have been a daily reader of DIE WELT for many years and particularly of its economics section. DIE WELT is topical, factual and well laid out — exactly what one needs.

## DIE WELT

UNABHÄNGIGE TAGESZEITUNG FÜR DEUTSCHLAND

## Decision makers' daily in Germany.

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In concrete terms: if Deutsche Bank (whose position is above even the slightest suspicion) were taken as a yardstick each customer would be insured for DM1.5bn — an unbeatable deposit insurance.

The savings banks and Volksbanken have different insurance systems. They both act to support banks in trouble before it is too late. This is probably the most elegant solution to the problem.

Another difference between SMH and Herstatt is that the Herstatt Bank actually collapsed while the SMH Bank received a healthy money injection, and stays in operation.

Still, the SMH scandal has revealed two important points.

The first is that the collapse of IBH shows the main mistake of so many vertical take-off companies of all sizes in post-war Germany. In their growth euphoria before the latest international economic slump, they ignored the need for a solid financial cushion. They wanted growth to outstrip the very liquidity needed to protect them from collapse in a crisis.

And the second is that some bankers lack the integrity their customers have a right to expect of them. Too many banks have been too careless in handling customers' money.

Private banks and even state central banks have repeatedly come under criticism on this. The same applies to the incomprehensible mammoth-loans by major German banks to shaky Third World and East Bloc countries. Have the banks bitten off more than they can chew?

In any event, the SMH affair is likely to change the German banking landscape.

The freedom German subsidiaries have enjoyed in Luxembourg is likely to end. The supervision authority will have to tighten up.

Heinrich Thoms  
(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 13 November 1983)

Continued from page 6

out a structural concept for MAN in collaboration with its managers.

Then Götte held that the head of a holding company could not be on constant trouble-shooting missions, rushing from one subsidiary to the next.

This, he said, would only be necessary if the MAN management board were unable to come up with a concept of its own or if it had not implemented a rescue plan approved by all.

Lennings has not yet come up with a clear answer to the question why he did not want to become the chairman of the MAN supervisory board and so help solve that company's structural problems in conjunction with its management board. He would certainly have been able to do this.

The fact that Lennings offered to resign over a conflict of much lesser significance indicates that he believed that the Regina Group intended to dismantle him piece by piece.

When Allianz delegated Götte to act on its behalf, Lennings must have realised that his executive qualities were increasingly being put into question by the shareholders.

There are two main reasons why the changing of the guard went off rather smoothly despite the fact that some supervisory board members of the two major shareholders were pretty visibly disenchanted.

Any continuation of the wrangling over personnel matters would have damaged the company's reputation still further. And nobody doubts that the Lennings opponents picked a man of

undisputed managerial abilities when opting for Götte.

Götte, a law graduate from Lower Saxony, has had as meteoric a career as his predecessor.

After graduating (with studies into the status of the United Nations in terms of international law), Götte first worked for the Düsseldorf-based private bank C.G. Trinka. In 1968, Günter Vogel-sung, Krupp's chief executive, offered him the job of head of finances.

In 1972, he moved on to the board of Allianz where he was primarily in charge of the huge group's investments. His familiarity with GHH affairs dates back to that time.

His only mistake was to have joined the Düsseldorf Flick concern in 1980. When sole owner Friedrich Karl Flick dismissed his partners, Eberhard von Brauchitsch and Hanns Arnt Vogels late last year, Götte quit.

He knows better than anybody else that the job awaiting him at the helm of GHH will be tough.

In the past months, Götte made a point of visiting all major MAN facilities to get a picture of the problems.

But viable concepts for those sectors of production that are in difficulties now will not be enough in the long run.

The concern became too bogged down in classical heavy machinery under Klaus Haniel and Manfred Lennings.

If the GHH star is to shine again, Klaus Götte will have to open up new modern technology markets: "I know that there's a lot to be done."

Hans Otto Eglau  
(Die Zeit, 11 November 1983)



## ■ THE STEEL INDUSTRY

## Plans for merger between two giants falls through

The planned merger of West Germany's two biggest steelmakers, seen as a key element in Bonn's strategy to pull the industry out of crisis, has collapsed.

The two steel groups, Krupp and Thyssen, never really trusted each other in the merger talks that began in June 1982.

No sooner had the talks broken down than the chief executives of both parties pulled out complete blueprints for going it alone.

The merger fundered on money. Some says Thyssen was too greedy. Some say Bonn was too tightfisted.

Krupp people blame Thyssen more than Bonn, saying that Thyssen had "put the monetary obstacle too high."

Thyssen chairman Dieter Spethmann differs: "We went to the limit," he says.

And when told that Thyssen was accused by some of seeing everything from a book-keeper's perspective, he said: "That's stupid and unsubstantiated talk."

It is no secret why the two groups, which as recently as 19 October had reached agreement in principle after a marathon round of talks, now hold such

different views on the failure of the merger plan.

Thyssen regards the steel sector as a permanent part of the concern. Krupp, on the other hand, wanted to get rid of steel to prevent other parts of the organisation from being affected by steel's troubles.

This seems substantiated by the admission by Alfons Göttsche, chairman of Krupp Stahl AG, that his company would have agreed to less than the 25 per cent stake Thyssen proposed Krupp should have in the joint steel company.

Krupp needs some way out of its problems. The company is unable to pay this year's contractually agreed Christmas bonus in one lot. Contrary to the contract worked out in collective bargaining, half of the bonus is to be deferred until next year.

It is difficult to pin the blame for the failure of the merger plans on any one party. Even Bonn Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff refuses to commit himself, according to a Ministry press release.

But while unwilling to comment on the reasons for the breakdown of the talks, he is outspoken on the consequences: streamlining benefits to the tune of DM400m a year will now be lost.

The two groups involved don't contradict. Though their concepts for operating alone will also save money compared with the present situation, the saving would be greater had they merged.

But the merger would also have resulted in more layoffs than the 8,500 planned by Thyssen and the 4,000 at Krupp.

Heinz Kriwet, chairman of Thyssen Stahl (the steel branch of the group), expects only short-lived benefits from the more moderate layoffs to be implemented now because many rationalisation possibilities would not be fully exploited.

Since Thyssen and Krupp make up about half of Germany's steel industry and the other half has so far not even considered a merger, many rationalisation possibilities worth about DM800m a year will go to waste.

But neither Count Lambsdorff nor his North Rhine-Westphalian opposite number, Reimut Jochimsen, see any way of forcing the steelmakers into wedded bliss.

## State cash grant pulls Arbed back from the deathbed

An immediate DM50m boost of state money has given steel manufacturer Arbed Saarstahl a chance of survival.

But neither the Federal government in Bonn nor the Saar state government is prepared to say that the company, with its payroll of 17,200, has been saved.

They refer to a statement by the Arbed management, saying that the company will not need more public money after 1986.

Until then, Arbed Saarstahl, which has so far cost the taxpayer DM3bn, will continue to need government help.

As part of the deal, all workers must retire at 50. A mediating panel decided this against the vote of the overall Arbed works council and the metalworkers union.

Dieter Piel  
(Die Zeit, 11 November 1983)

It is not the public sector's function to relieve companies of managerial decisions or to prejudice such decisions by detailed terms and conditions, says a Bonn Economic Affairs Ministry statement. As Reimut Jochimsen sees it, everything is wide open once again, especially the moderators' plan backed by the Bonn government: "Everybody can now go ahead and negotiate with anybody he chooses." He does not discount the possibility that Krupp and Hoesch will now again start merger talks although the originally planned merger between them that would have resulted in a proposed Ruhrstahl AG failed last year. The failure of the moderators' model to materialise is less dire than the loss of time caused by wrangling over it.

As long as Thyssen and Krupp negotiated, all other parties stood in the wings. Only Hoesch was actually active in a bid to put together its concept for going it alone.

Bonn, on the other hand, did nothing to bring the other merger candidates Hoesch, Klöckner and Salzgitter - in the bargaining table.

It probably reckoned that once Thyssen and Krupp had merged everything else would fall into place.

Now, Bonn is faced with the wreckage of its half-hearted restructuring policy.

The liquidity bottlenecks that have been a way of life with Arbed Saarstahl could now easily spread to other steelmakers.

The situation on the steel market is not exactly conducive to alleviating such problems. The German market is flooded with imports that have depressed pri-

ces. If imported steel were offered at same prices as the German variety, import quota would not be 40 to 50 per cent but four to five per cent, says Reimut Jochimsen.

But imported steel sells for DM1200 a ton less than German steel. "90 per cent of its comes from countries with highly subsidised steel industries," says Kriwet.

The president of the German Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Rolf Brickenstein, sees little chance of getting out of the crisis through import controls.

"What good is it for our companies to reduce production costs by DM300 a ton when foreign companies are subsidised to the tune of DM200 a ton?" asks Brickenstein.

Count Lambsdorff: "My government will not put up with having jobs in Germany's efficient steel industry jeopardised by market distortions due to subsidies."

He says Bonn's current aim is to keep the German production within the Community at the level of the past few years.

This would mean that Bonn would have to rescue troubled steelmakers when necessary because Brussels market guidelines provide for quotas for a specific company to lapse only months after a bankruptcy.

This means that the collapse of a German company would in no way benefit other German steelmakers. Instead, it would benefit foreign competitors.

But this provision expires on 31 January 1984, and no extension is at present being offered.

Bonn would be well advised to take a change because Germany's primary-owned steel companies are more susceptible to bankruptcy than the state-owned or semi-nationalised companies in neighbouring countries.

Heinz-Günter Kemmer  
(Die Zeit, 11 November 1983)



A hot time for steel.

(Photo: J. H. Dorn)

## COMMUNICATIONS

## What the electronic crystal ball says

## ME &amp; ZEIT

Bonn Bundestag has just debated new media, and about time it may be talk of missile modernisation and tree deaths, of structural crises and unemployment, but the cable industry, inexorably dawning.

But guess what it will hold in All that can be said for sure is the major challenges in current the communications revolution to fill many with fear and fore-

Bundestag was unable to provide a sense of relief. Political parties too disagreed on media policy. The parliamentary debate in Bonn marked the beginning of a discussion beyond the level of media and expert committees.

It has for far too long been the case for dealing with technological problems that urgently need discussion a wider public and explaining their repercussions will soon be

debate on our electronic future have got off to a slow start, but there have by no means been enough reasons. There are other reasons.

General curiosity has naturally been in check by the very complexity of the subject. The new media are so full of possibilities it is hard to keep track of them

where coaxial cable and digitalised phone systems, satellites and optical pay TV and videotex are contained. The prospects often go beyond the powers of imagination of the average consumer.

But is why there has been nothing but a quiet reaction so far to the fundamental question, which is whether the new media can be trusted up by cable, would data, text and extra TV programmes be cable into all our homes?

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Heinz-Günter Kemmer  
(Die Zeit, 11 November 1983)



Progress rolls on.

(Photo: Kurt Heinrich)

It is that the Federal Republic of Germany may be a first-rate industrialised country in performance, but not in its basic attitude toward technology. A country that is to maintain such high standards will need to show courage, commitment and imagination in the long term. Other countries currently seem much more readily prepared to commit themselves to the shape of technologies to come.

That is not to say that American enthusiasm about computers, Japanese obsession with electronics and French nonchalance in dealing with atomic energy need necessarily be emulated.

All that is needed is to appreciate how little hue and cry there has been about the cable revolution in other countries.

Seven out of 10 Swiss homes are cabled up (partly due to geographical conditions). In Austria the percentage is 35, in the United States 57.

Does danger lie ahead if we decide to follow suit? Political parties are now debating the pros and cons, and the fronts are taking shape as sides are taken.

The Federal government is strongly in favour of stepping up expansion of the cable network, with Posts and Telecom Minister Christian Schwarz-Schilling leading the faithful.

As the man in charge of the telecom monopoly he conjures visions of a rose-tinted cable future.

He, unlike even many fellow-Christian Democrats, is convinced conversion of the cable network will create tens of thousands of new jobs.

He also claims that the cable revolution will result in exportable technologies being developed and in additional

## 6 Fears that an increase in programmes will tend to stupefy the viewing public 9

radio and TV programmes boosting the range of views voiced.

The Opposition is less enthusiastic. It is doubtful about the value of converting the grid as a means of job creation.

It is afraid that electronic rationalisation may prove detrimental in its effect on the labour market.

It warns that radio and TV programmes inflation may tend to stupefy the listening and viewing public and is worried that conservative forces alone will stand to benefit.

A number of arguments on both sides owe more to party-political egoism than to concern for the public good.

As in other cases of far-reaching change, the cable revolution is partly a matter of maintaining existing positions and extending spheres of influence.

That is why two key questions are not answered in the party-political dispute. They are:

First, how are we to set about cabling the country? The Ministry's urge to go ahead is in keeping with what is technically feasible and economically necessary.

An industrialised country must take advantage of the opportunities electronics provides of ensuring faster, more comprehensive and storable information.

But the Bundespost has taken a step in the wrong direction by deciding to truss up the entire country in coaxial cable costing billions (estimates range from DM20bn to DM50bn).

The benefits to be derived from this outlay are negligible, amounting in the final analysis to additional relay facilities for a few extra TV programmes.

In the communications sector there are better uses to which the taxpayer's money could be put. Spending on a digitalised telephone network should prove more profitable, for one.

It could provide a much better service at much less expense, relaying data and stationary images by the dialog process.

Optical cable is already available as the most important medium for the future. German industry can already manufacture it and the equipment needed to convert optical into electronic signals.

But restraint is called for, given countrywide expenditure totalling between DM100bn and DM300bn. A more sensible and politically meaningful investment would be to leave industry to get on with it in built-up areas.

Let it raise its own capital to finance experiments, while maintaining the Bundespost's telecom monopoly for purposes of supervision.

That would save the government money and us all unpleasant experiences with the experimental stages.

Second, are we going to be inundated with cable radio and TV programmes? The technical scene certainly seems to be on the point of being set for a horror scenario.

There does seem to be an alarming prospect of a confusing variety pouring forth from loudspeakers and screens, of programmes at tabloid level, of influence being wielded by media entrepreneurs without the possibility of control and of the entire country being snowed under by programmes relayed via foreign satellite transmitters.

These are keywords that stand for a communications catastrophe with political and social repercussions that would be sure to go far beyond anything one could predict.

Yet there is no need for nightmares. There are limits to the number of programmes that could be beamed at us.

Cable radio and TV is an expensive venture. A national cable TV network on

a commercial basis would, it is estimated, run at a loss for probably a decade.

There is a limit to the advertising budgets of German companies. Doubts have already arisen as to whether existing ventures in commercial TV will earn enough to make ends meet.

It will also be extremely difficult to produce enough programme material to mark time between advertising slots.

Pilot projects in Ludwigshafen and Munich have shown what an obstacle race private TV can be, although their slow start could yet gain momentum.

The cable revolution opens up incalculable options, both good and bad. It can make services easier and cheaper. It can speed up the flow of information to an enormous extent. It can rationalise production.

But the electronic autobahn network set up by the new media may prove

## 6 Bundespost has made a wrong choice by deciding to truss the nation in coaxial cable 9

equally dangerous. Cable communications may be too demanding on us all, cutting us off from society and making our labour superfluous.

It conjures visions of Orwell's two-way TV in 1984, a bitter foretaste of which we in Germany were given in the Third Reich, the era of the Volksempfänger, or all-pervading Nazi radio.

With so many options open and questions unanswered it is up to politicians to lay down the framework within which data abuse and destructive overexposure to audiovisual stimuli are forestalled.

It is up to them to strike a balance between the profit and loss of the new technology.

Since cable grids will be an indispensable part of the infrastructure of modern industrialised countries, mere opposition is no solution.

Nothing but the determination to exercise political control over technological developments will hold forth the prospect of the benefits outweighing the drawbacks.

Will cable society in 20 or 30 years be a better-informed and more productive society? Thoreau hit on the fundamental issue at stake over 130 years ago when he noted: "We are going to great lengths to establish a telegraphic link between Maine and Texas, but maybe Maine and Texas have nothing important to tell each other."

What will we have to tell each other via the communications network of the future?

Dieter Buhl  
(Die Zeit, 11 November 1983)







## ■ BEHAVIOUR

## The man who discovered a secret in a flock of wild geese

I've been inhumanly lucky most of my life: I've had animals as my friends." The man who said this in a 1980 television interview must have had such famous friends in mind as the jackdaw Tschok and, of course, Martina, the gosling to whom, he was a tender, loving mother.

Zoologist Konrad Lorenz, the founder of modern ethology (the study of animal and human behaviour by means of comparative zoological methods), has just turned 80. Most of these 80 years have been shared with animals.

Even his love for his wife Gretl goes back to a common animal acquaintance: a pair of ducklings given to the 6-year-old Konrad.

It was Gretl Lorenz who, as a gynaecologist, kept the family going financially over many years.

Lorenz himself had no regular income until he was almost 50 — except for a brief spell in 1940/41 when he was professor and head of the Department of General Psychology at the Albertus University in Königsberg, now Kaliningrad, in Russia.

This changed in 1950 when he joined the Max Planck Society, initially as head of a research centre in Bulder, Westphalia. Later, in 1955, he was made head of the Institute for Behavioural Physiology in Seewiesen, Bavaria, which was custom-made for him.

He remained at the institute until his

retirement in 1973, the year in which he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Medicine.

It was during his work with a flock of wild geese that Lorenz discovered the basic principle of modern ethology: the fact that behavioural patterns are as hereditary as physiological traits. They are equally subject to the principles of evolution rather than being acquired or learned.

The decisive aspect was Lorenz's application of this finding to humans. The consequences of this for our moral self-assessment are inestimable.

This was most convincingly documented — and most sharply criticised — in his famous book, *On Aggression* (English edition 1966) in which he describes aggression in animal species and the significance of it for the understanding of human behaviour.

It was this that some people have interpreted as a moral free-for-all.

Lorenz has never wanted to have his aggression theory understood in this oversimplified manner. But the general public has never quite understood the scientific nuances in his study.

Some of the more demanding Lorenz books, among them the one describing his evolutionary findings (*Die Rückseite des Spiegels* or the mirror's reverse, 1973) were rather disappointing to a general readership used to more entertaining fare.

He is now back in the limelight as a spokesman for the ecology movement.

But here, too, he has essentially withdrawn to questionable analogies between people and animals. As far back as 1940, Lorenz attempted to demonstrate with domestic animals that domestication, i.e. selective breeding, leads to degeneration of behavioural patterns typical for a species.

The reason he gave was that domestic animals were no longer governed by the evolutionary principle of the survival of the fittest. His views led to a public dispute when he described human civilisation as "self-domestication."

In his book *Die acht Todsünden der zivilisierten Menschheit* (civilised humanity's eight deadly sins) published in 1973, he described the possibly suicidal consequences of technological civilisation. This was followed by a recent paper in which he spoke of a pathologi-

cal decline of formerly laid principles of the human community. Attitudes like orderliness and derived from growth and were originally assets in prehistoric species, have now been turned into destructive opposites, says Lorenz. The study contains some tips and plausible observations on our world.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 1 November 1983)



Konrad Lorenz with a winged research colleague

## ASHBACK

## Reichskristallnacht, when the Nazi wreckers hit town

## Saarbrücker Zeitung

countrywide excesses against the Jewish community in Nazi Germany November 1938 have come to be known by the euphemism of the *Reichskristallnacht*, or night of crystal.

Thousands of synagogues were gutted, smashed and looted. Homes were vandalised.

Thousands of thousands of Jews were hunted and, in some cases, a "campaign of vengeance" was launched on the Jewish community.

The only crime was to have been born the No. 1 enemy of the Nazi regime. In 1938 there were still over 100,000 Jews living in Germany.

The pretext for this campaign was the assassination of a German embassy official in Paris, Ernst vom Rath, by a 17-year-old German Polish Jew, Herschel Grynszpan, on 7 November 1938.

Grynszpan's aim was to draw attention to the persecution of Jews in Germany. It had happened to about 17,000 Jews of German origin, including Grynszpan's family.

Only beforehand they had been excluded, forcibly and barbarously, across Polish borders.

After conferring with Hitler, Propaganda Minister Goebbels took the occasion as a pretext for an officially ordered nationwide raid on Jewish prop-

erty. Thousands of Nazis, mostly SA men, roamed through villages and towns, looting the country armed with clubs and other weapons.

They laid waste to Jewish property, smashed and set fire to synagogues, looted up Jewish citizens.

They saw the ruins of gutted synagogues, smashed Jewish homes, wrote an eye-witness from Berlin, "and empty shops in which nothing was left but broken glass, and furniture and vandalised remains of stock."

It was told that pro-Nazi teachers taken their classes out to see how they had been dealt their "just punishment."

It was not so much as a word had been said that teachers seen fit to chide children filled their pockets with sweets and stolen from Jewish shops.

The police, obeying orders, paid no heed to such excesses and the wave of destruction. Instead, they dealt with complaints by members of the

Nazi leaders claimed there had been a spontaneous expression of popular anger. This was a propaganda claim close to believe.

They cannot even be said to have been enthusiastic. Contemporary reports seem to indicate that most people looked on impassively, shrugging their shoulders as it were.

Even the *Sicherheitsdienst* (SD) took stock of what had been accomplished on 11 November. He said Jewish shops, 29 department stores and 171 homes had been gutted or laid

to ruins. Six synagogues had been de-

molished and 191 gutted. Over 20,000 Jews were also taken into custody and sent to concentration camps.

We will never know for sure how many Jews were killed or driven to suicide. The Nazi Party's own court dealt with 91 deaths.

In nearly all cases the killers were let off on the ground that their orders had been open to misinterpretation.

The Jews had to meet the cost themselves. Insurance claims were dismissed by the state, which later even ordered them to pay RM1bn in "damages."

The pogrom was as devastating in the Saar as it was everywhere else in the Reich even though the number of Jewish residents had plummeted since 1933.

In 1933 there were 4,638 Jews in the Saar. By 1938/39 roughly 90 per cent had emigrated, mainly to France and Luxembourg.

Those that were left were publicly ill-treated, harassed, jeered and humiliated. Many were taken into custody, especially the well-to-do, and their homes and businesses laid waste.

Nearly all the synagogues were gutted. They included Jewish churches in Saarbrücken, Dillingen, Merzig, Neunkirchen, Ottweiler, St Wendel, Illingen, Brotdorf and Saarwellingen.

Newspapers in the Saar had long been

Frightening and typical are the attributes that best describe the poster advertising the Bonn exhibition on Childhood and Youth Under the Nazis.

It shows a kiddies' cart being pushed by a boy of four or five. His younger brother is sitting in the cart, which on its chair-back sports a resplendent swastika.

The motif was not specially thought up for the exhibition, which is on show at the city's central library until 21 December. It was taken from a contemporary newspaper photograph.

Nearly 300 items, many personal, were loaned by local people. They include badges, ID cards, books and diaries provided by about 30 Bonn people.

The exhibition makes no claim to be either scientific or complete. It is merely intended, 50 years after the Nazi takeover, to show young people in particular what life was like at the time.

Most of the people who had loaned personal documents attended the opening ceremony. So did representatives of the institutions who backed the idea of the exhibition, which was the city library's brainchild.

They included the Old Synagogue in Essen, which houses a permanent exhibition on resistance to and persecution in the Third Reich.

There was the Federal Political Education Centre, the Bonn Peace Education Centre, the municipal theatres, the city archives and the Rhenish State Hospital, Bonn.

There was also the Hamburg office of the President's award scheme for schoolchildren's essays on German history.

This year young people at a school in Bad Godesberg, Bonn's twin town, won first prize with a project on the Nazi era in Bonn. They and their teacher were



Left: SA Brownshirts blocking access to a Jewish business in Berlin. Right: the synagogue in Berlin's Oranienburger Strasse after being set alight. (Photo: dpa)

brought to heel by the Nazis. They had little or nothing to say about the raids on Jewish people and their property.

The arson that laid waste to the synagogues was the subject of snide comments by leader-writers, including a leading article in the *Saarbrücker Zeitung* 45 years ago.

The Star of David as it fell from the burning ruins of the Saarbrücken synagogue, the newspaper editorialised, symbolised the star of international Jewry, which was similarly on the decline.

The *Neue Abendzeitung*, a Saarbrücken evening paper, referred derisively to a long-awaited destructive fire. The *Saar- und Blieszeitung*, Neunkir-

chen, wrote in jubilant, primitive anti-Semitic terms of the Jewish temple, a disgrace to the town, having been burnt down.

In the wake of the *Reichskristallnacht* a plague of further official harassment came down on the remaining Jews in Germany, who were now well and truly beyond the pale.

Their freedom of movement and activity had long been restricted. These restrictions were intensified. A few years later the Nazi authorities opted for a "final solution" that sent millions of European Jews to the gas chamber.

Albert H. V. Kraus

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 10 November 1983)

## The lessons of a Third Reich childhood

The aims of the exhibition were outlined by the head of the city library, Dr Günter Röttcher, and the director of the Federal Political Education Centre, Horst Dahlhaus.

Each successive generation must ask itself and arrive at a personal answer on whether lessons can be learnt from history, Herr Dahlhaus said.

Today's 50-year-olds had learnt their lesson and realised that in their childhood and youth they had been misled by a dangerous regime.

But they had devoted so much time and effort to post-war reconstruction that they had forgotten to pass on to young people what they had experienced and felt they had learnt.

This failure was one they had only recently come to appreciate, but it was not too late to tell today's young people from personal experience what living history had been like at first hand.

It was an opportunity that ought not to be missed. The Bonn exhibition was one way of setting about it. The more people who saw it, the better.

Many exhibits testify to the profound effect Nazi ideas had on children and young people. Take, for instance, the sewing machine advertisement that proclaimed:

"German girls! If you want to become German women put German technology to good use!"

Or a poster advertising a competition for German youngsters on the topic: *Volksgemeinschaft — Blutgemeinschaft* (One Nation — One Blood).

Then there is a leaflet dating back to November 1938 proclaiming that Jews were banned from attending German schools.

An article in the *Westdeutscher Beobachter*, a regional Nazi newspaper, commented that it was about time the Hitler Youth took over the "Red" meeting house of the *Naturfreunde*.

A racial booklet for young Germans contained reading matter for the new German school. Another book for young people, adorned with rune emblems, asked:

"Is it a misfortune to have been born in an unruly, tempestuous age? Is it not a blessing?"

This propaganda bombardment could not fail to have an effect. A 16-year-old girl wrote in her diary on 20 April, 1939: "Today is the Führer's 50th birthday. Words cannot express the wonderful feeling of being a German."

A 13-year-old boy noted in his diary that he was terribly fond of the Führer.

Documents supplied by the Rhenish State Hospital are particularly saddening. They tell the tale of at least 50 children transferred from Bonn to Kaimenhof, near Idstein in the Taunus hills.

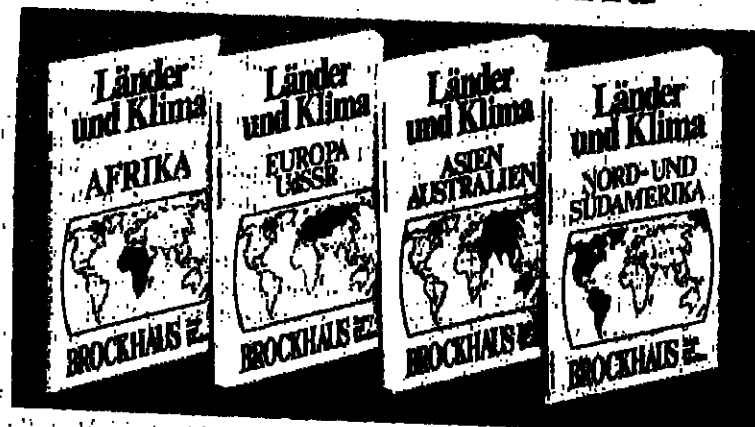
Kaimenhof was a special treatment centre for children. It put them to death. At least 44 of the children were killed there.

A meeting is shortly to be held as part of Children's Book Week in Bonn. People who were children 50 years ago will tell youngsters what it was like.

The aim is to back up the impression made by the exhibition of swastikas, diaries, photos, documents, letters from the front and reports of Hitler Youth gatherings.

Maybe personal recollections will help both young and old to think it over. (General-Anzeiger Bonn, 10 November 1983)

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